THE

CAUSE

OF THE

ENORMITIES, &c.

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ENORMITIES

LATELY COMMITTED

BY

FRENCHMEN

INVESTIGATED,

AND A

REMEDY PROPOSED.

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THE vice, the cruelty, and the miſery which now prevail in France, are greater than have ever been witneſſed, ſince the Gothic invaſions ceaſed to afflict Europe. Within theſe ſix years the common people of that country have been converted from peaſants, labourers, and artizans, into ſoldiers; the merchants and manufacturers are reduced to poverty; the clergy and ancient nobility have either fled to foreign countries,

are impriſoned, or have been murdered; the King has died by the *guilotine*, and laſtly, the Queen has been dragged to the ſame fatal inſtrument, and has ſuffered death amidſt the applauſe of the populace.

It is moſt important to enquire what is the cauſe of theſe effects, and what has produced ſo ſudden a change in the character and conduct of the French nation. A people enriched by agriculture, commerce, and the arts; whoſe learned and enlightened men diffuſed knowledge over the globe; whoſe poliſhed manners were admired and imitated by all ſurrounding nations; and whoſe characters were lively, amiable and gallant. Such was the picture of Frenchmen; but in a few ſhort years *quantum mutati*, how much are they diſfigured. They have become unjuſt, ferocious and blood-thirſty; and ſo abandoned

to wickedneſs, that they not only murder without remorſe, whomſoever they ſuſpect of being hoſtile to their proceedings, but they even ſeem gratified with the ſufferings of their unhappy victims, and ſhout with horrid joy at their expiring agonies.

The time was when ſuch tranſactions would have been imputed to ſupernatural cauſes. The heart of Pharaoh was ſaid to have been hardened by God. Wicked and cruel men were ſuppoſed by the ancient Pagans to be impelled by the Furies; and the modern and bigotted Chriſtians have frequently believed them to be poſſeſſed by Satan. But in the preſent day a different explanation will be looked for. The conduct of men is expected to be accounted for, by a conſideration of their nature, and of the ſituation and circumſtances in which they are placed. Thoſe perſons who are

beſt acquainted with the nature of man know, that ſimilar ſituations and circumſtances produce ſimilar effects on the inhabitants of every part of the globe. For although mankind every where are not preciſely the ſame, they are nearly ſo. Phyſical cauſes occaſion ſome differences, but they are not eſſential ones.

Man, wherever he is generated, has the ſame ſenſations, the ſame natural appetites and the ſame moral principles; he is every where faſhioned by education and example: he may be rendered by oppoſite means, brave or timid, profligate or temperate, benevolent or malicious. His actions are always conformable to his motives. Sometimes he acts from feeling, and ſometimes from judgement, as the one or the other govern the mind at the moment. And this is the caſe with all the human race, whether

ther produced under the Equator, or in the neighbourhood of the Poles.

We then, as well as every people of Europe, are perſonally intereſted to diſcover the cauſes of the preſent depravity of the French; that we may prevent, if poſſible, the ſame ſhocking change taking place elſewhere, and at once ſinking the world again into that ſtate of barbarity, from which it has for ſome centuries been emerging.

In order to trace the progreſſive corruption of the French, we muſt take notice of the ſingular events in their hiſtory which have lately happened.

About ſix years ago, the court of France, in conſequence of a conſiderable deficiency in the revenue, found it neceſſary to invent ſome extraordinary means of aug-

augmenting it. The king appeared deſirous of doing this in the manner leaſt oppreſſive to his ſubjects; and he likewiſe ſhewed a diſpoſition to relieve his people, by reforming ſome of the moſt oppreſſive abuſes of the government, and even by yielding up the moſt obnoxious prerogatives of his crown.

The people of France, on the other hand, being inſtructed by many ingenious writers upon government, whoſe arguments and illuſtrations were chiefly drawn from Engliſh authors, were inſpired with a ſtrong deſire of freedom. They were fully informed of the advantages enjoyed by Americans and Britons, and their imaginations were fired with the hopes of reaching a ſtate of ſociety, far ſuperior to what they had yet enjoyed. The intentions of the king, as well as of the people, were good.

Let

Let us proceed to mark how ſuch pure deſigns occaſioned ſuch abominable conſequences.

Although the king, from love of his people, was willing to relinquiſh ſome of his prerogatives, yet he was reſolved to retain the principal part, and wiſhed that what he gave up ſhould be conſidered as a favour.

In the next place, the nobility and clergy were inclined to ſoften in ſome degree the diſtreſſes of the commons, but at the ſame time to preſerve over them that ſuperiority which they imagined they were entitled to by their birth. They were likewiſe reſolved to free themſelves, in ſome degree, from the oppreſſion of the court, in order to become more independent and powerful.

And laſtly, The commons, poor and wretched, were eager not only to acquire a deliverance from the deſpotic ſway of the king and the magiſtracy, but likewiſe from the more inſulting and galling power of the nobles; and, in fine, to render themſelves and their poſterity free.

The plans of the king, of the nobility and of the commons, were evidently incompatible with each other. Their intereſts jarred, a conteſt was unavoidable. Happy would it have been for all, had the conteſt been proſecuted with moderation; but this was done by none of the parties; and according to that never failing maxim of Rochefoucauld *que l'eſprit eſt toujours le dupe du coeur*, *each* imagined that the happineſs and proſperity of the ſtate could only be produced by ſuch meaſures as were advantageous to itſelf. It is clear that the commons were

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the moſt ſelfiſh, as well as the moſt violent party. For the king, as well as the nobles, in purſuing their own good, always ſhewed ſome regard to the intereſts of the commons; whereas the latter acted only for themſelves; and if they reflected at all upon their opponents, it was with averſion, and with the deſign of injuring them. This, however, is the leſs extraordinary, as they were the chief ſufferers during the old government.

Such were the views of the different parties, when the king aſſembled the various ſtates of the monarchy in the year 1789. It very ſoon appeared that the conceſſions the king intended to make were far beneath the expectations of the commons, or even of the nobility. Both therefore united their ſtrength to compel him to relinquiſh more. The conteſt grew

warm; floods of ink were poured out, as a prelude to a more tragical deluge.

The king (unqueſtionably a good man) felt himſelf injured. He obſerved with concern that his generous intentions towards his people had ſubjected him to inſult; that his power was trampled upon; that his own character, and more eſpecially that of the queen, were calumniated; and that he was in danger of being ſtript of all thoſe prerogatives, which he had been taught from his cradle to conſider as his undoubted right. Alarmed at the ſpeeches and behaviour of his ſubjects, and encouraged by thoſe who enjoyed the ſplendour of the court, and held the moſt lucrative offices, he determined to reſiſt, to aſſert his power, and to ſhew that he could wield the ſceptre.

He

He inſtantly aſſembled an army. Forty thouſand ſoldiers, chiefly mercenaries, encamped on the Champ de Mars, and ſurrounded Verſailles. The doors of the National Aſſembly were ſhut and guarded, and the members were commanded by their ſovereign to diſperſe.

This was a critical moment; the danger was imminent; but the National Aſſembly were not to be terrified.

Had they ſubmitted to the crown on this emergency; had they diſſolved themſelves without having effected one purpoſe for which they were aſſembled; the puſillanimity of the repreſentatives of the nobility, clergy, and commons would have ſtained the national character with the opprobrium of cowardice. None even of thoſe, who

think higheſt of the rights of kings, would have approved of this. It was ſubjecting themſelves and every man in the country to be puniſhed at the diſcretion of the king, or rather of his minions. Every man who had diſplayed a bold and independent ſpirit might have been baniſhed, impriſoned, or put to death. The chains of Frenchmen would have been rivetted faſter than ever, and all hopes of freedom quaſhed perhaps for centuries. Surrounding nations would have viewed them with deriſion and contempt; they would have been enſlaved, without exciting pity.

But the members of the national aſſembly acted in amanner which all approved of. They aſſembled together in an adjoining tennis-court, and took a ſolemn oath not to diſſolve themſelves, 'till they had formed a con-

a conſtitution; but to perſevere, however much they might ſuffer in exerting their utmoſt efforts for their country.

The city of Paris without leaders, and almoſt without arms, reſolved likewiſe not to yield, though it hardly knew how to contend; and with calmneſs and intrepidity expected the approaching ſtorm.

The king ignorant of his own weakneſs, commences an attack with ſome dragoons. The citizens, though perhaps no leſs ignorant of their ſtrength, reſiſt. Some blood is ſpilt; and the Pariſians, aſſiſted by a few of the French guards, repel the dragoons. The army in general ſympathiſe with the people, and cannot be led to maſſacre them. And the king found, when it was too late, that his troops would not obey him, and dip their bayonets in the blood of Frenchmen.

men. He then ſaw that henceforth he could not govern by force; but muſt hold his crown only by the conſent of the people. This, however, was ſtill unknown to the Pariſians; who inflamed with reſentment, and kindled into rage by the danger of their ſituation, advanced to aſſault the Baſtille. Difficulties vaniſh before them, and victory follows their ſteps. The gates are burſt open, and quarters are given to none.

Was it to be expected, under theſe circumſtances, that the lives of the defenders of the Baſtile would be ſaved? Such moderation is not looked for even in regular troops, who are taught to ſuppreſs their emotions, who are ſeldom intereſted in the wars they carry on, and who are in perfect ſafety when the place which they aſſault is taken; for it is eſtabliſhed,

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by to the laws of war, that when a place is taken by ſtorm, all who are found may be put to the ſword; and this law is generally very punctually executed. And was a more merciful conduct to be looked for from thoſe citizens who ſtormed the Baſtille? Whoſe minds were highly irritated; who conſidered that they were fighting for their lives as well as their liberties; who knew that, even after their ſucceſs, their conduct ſubjected them to the imputation of rebellion, that their lives were forfeited, and that poſſibly before it was long they might be compelled to pay the forfeiture. Under ſuch circumſtances, however much I might lament the unhappy garriſon of the Baſtille, I was not ſurpriſed at their fate; eſpecially when I conſidered that the terrific appearance of the dungeons, and the ſqualid and wretch-

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ed looks of the priſoners muſt have increaſed the rage of their deliverers.

Arms having been taken up, they could not with ſafety be at once, put down. The inhabitants of the country at large roſe in oppoſition to the crown alſo. Some of the nobles attached to the court had their *chateaux* burnt or deſtroyed; and others were even put to death by the peaſants.

Reſiſtance was made no where; and the king finding that his army would not act againſt his people, diſmiſſed it; the generals fled, and a ſudden calm took place.

This was the termination of the firſt revolution; which was effected with much leſs bloodſhed than is uſual on ſuch occaſions,

ſions, and without thoſe ſhocking attrocities which have ſince diſgraced France, and have even degraded human nature.--- The king, though at the mercy of the populace, remained unmoleſted in his palace, and the whole powers of the ſtate devolved upon the national aſſembly.

It now became their duty to form a government; and it appeared reaſonable to ſuppoſe, that as they were, without doubt, men of the firſt talents in the country, that they would have eſtabliſhed a wiſe and ſtable conſtitution.

At this time moſt nations in Europe evidently appeared to approve of the conduct of the French. Thoſe of this country who regretted it, did it upon this ground,—that if France became free, ſhe

would become too rich and too powerful for Great Britain.

They were therefore enemies of the revolution on account of the belief of its excellence.

It is a mournful tale to ſhew how theſe fair proſpects were clouded, which we now proceed to relate. The conduct of the king had hitherto excited no particular animoſity; the attempt he made to regain his authority was thought natural, and he was believed to be a well-meaning, though a weak prince. The queen was conceived to be a contraſt to her huſband in both theſe particulars, and was held in deteſtation.

It would certainly have been wiſe in the king at this time to have wholely ſubmitted

to

to the national aſſembly. Inſtead of which he very ſoon made a feeble and imprudent attempt to regain his power by force of arms; at leaſt the tranſactions of the third of October, 1789, had very much that appearance.

The king's *gardes de corps*, conſiſting entirely of nobility, gave a feaſt, to which the officers of the national guards were invited. The king and queen appeared at the entertainment, and behaved in a manner unuſually condeſcending, and calculated to gain the affections of the troops. Songs were ſung, and toaſts were given expreſſive of attachment to the crown, rather than to the nation; and ſome went ſo far, as to pluck from their hats the national cockade, and trample it under foot, and to ſubſtitute a white one, an emblem of the old government. An account of this was quickly reported

reported at Paris, and greatly exaggerated. A violent flame was kindled. The Pariſians conſidered this conduct of the king as perfidious and ungenerous, they having left him undiſturbed when he was in their power. They ſaw that if he ſucceeded in gaining over the troops, their lives were in the utmoſt danger, and a civil war would probably enſue.

The whole populace were inſtantly in commotion. They aſſembled in arms in ſpite of La Fayette, the commander in chief, and attempted in vain to pacify and diſperſe them.

An immenſe multitude marched to Verſailles. La Fayette followed with twenty thouſand national guards, to prevent any violence being done to the perſons of the royal family.

Without

Without the cleareſt knowledge of the ſecret motives for the treatment La Fayette has ſince experienced, it is *poſſible* that we may draw from it an erroneous inference; but judging of the fate of this unfortunate man from appearances, the natural concluſion is, that for ſucceeding in ſaving the lives of the king and queen on this occaſion, and for having ruined himſelf in attempting to preſerve their crown on a future one; he has been ſhut up in a dungeon by the King of Pruſſia, with the approbation of the preſent Emperor of Germany, the Queen of France's nephew, and left to periſh.

It is difficult to comprehend the motive for this injuſtice and cruelty towards the ſubject of another country, a friend to monarchy, and the preſerver for a time of the royal family of France.

Had

Had *all* crowned heads, on the preſent criſis, acted with wiſdom, mildneſs, and moderation, and on every occaſion " let " mercy ſeaſon juſtice," this behaviour would have formed ſuch a contraſt to the abſurd and inhuman career of the republicans, as muſt have inclined mankind to a love of monarchy, and a deteſtation of democracy.

By the prudent conduct of La Fayette, all hoſtilities between the national guards, the *gardes de corps*, and the regiment *de Flandres*, who were likewiſe preſent, was prevented during the whole day.

The king and the reſt of the royal family went to ſleep undiſturbed. After midnight, ſome of the ſoldiers being intoxicated, excited a riot. It is ſtill unknown whether this was accidental, or

whether it was by the contrivance of ſome villain. If the latter was the caſe, it is certain, at leaſt, that the people in general were ignorant of this plan, and acted hitherto with moderation.

An attempt was made to quell the riot, and in the ſcuffle a muſket was fired.—The *gardes de corps*, conſiſting of wild young noblemen, flew to arms; thinking themſelves and their king in danger, they fired at the rioters and thoſe who had aſſembled around them. Many of the people fell. The *gardes de corps* were attacked in their turn; and being overpowered by numbers, at laſt gave way. They were purſued through the apartments of the palace. Many, favoured by the darkneſs of the night, eſcaped; but the heads of the ſlain were cut off, and fixed upon pikes.

Theſe

Theſe brave men merited a very different fate. They believed their king's life in danger, and with undaunted, though uſeleſs, intrepidity, ſacrificed themſelves for his ſafety. A ſtrong ſenſe of duty actuated this gallant band of gentlemen. But their conduct, as well as the king's, appeared to the people through the thick ſhades of prejudice and error in the darkeſt and moſt hideous colours. They conceived, that the king after pretending to yield to the wiſhes of the people, had excited his guards in the dead of night to maſſacre the uncautious citizens. For there were not wanting perſons to give this falſe impreſſion to the credulous multitude. With this belief, it is rather extraordinary that in the firſt tranſport of their fury, they did not burſt into the royal bed-chamber, and terminate at once the lives, and ſhorten the miſeries of their unhappy ſovereigns.—

This

This ſudden cataſtrophe was prevented by the watchful and humane interpoſition of La Fayette, and by ſome remaining reſpect towards thoſe perſons who were once beheld almoſt with adoration. No quarter was given to the *gardes de corps*. The proceſſion of their heads was occaſioned not only by a deſire to wreak their vengeance on thoſe whom they conſidered as the treacherous murderers of their countrymen; but likewiſe as a threat to their king, whom their erring minds repreſented as a midnight aſſaſſin. Error was the cauſe of their rage and of their cruelty; and error is the cauſe of all cruelties. Man is not naturally wicked or inhuman; but when inflamed with wrath, his judgment forſakes him, he becomes mad, and during a paroxyſm of rage, his actions hardly differ from thoſe of a maniac.

The king, being now thoroughly ſubdued, was carried to Paris, where he compounded for his life by taking an oath not to reſiſt the national aſſembly or make war upon the people of France.

The conteſt between the monarch and his ſubjects was now appeaſed; but a new and more violent diſſention ſoon aroſe between the nobles and commons. This controverſy was from the nature of the ancient government, unavoidable. The French nobility conſiſted of near half a million of people. Their pre-eminence over the commons conſiſted chiefly in their titles, in their privilege of going to court, in an exemption from certain taxes, in being alone entitled to hold certain honourable commiſſions and poſts, and in an *imaginary idea of rank*.

Their

Their privileges were not well defined; but to ſuffer ſo great a caſt to hold any privileges over the reſt of the citizens was clearly incompatible with a free government.

It ſeems difficult to conceive any way conſiſtent with a plan of freedom of continuing the order of nobleſſe in France. This appeared to the commons impoſſible, and a determination was taken to aboliſh for ever the diſtinction of nobility. The *nobles* marked this deſign with the higheſt indignation. They now regretted their former union with the commons; and conſidered this attack as ungrateful as well as unjuſt. Their intereſt was affected and their pride was wounded in the moſt ſenſible part. In vain they reaſoned or ſtormed in the national aſſembly. Better reaſons, or more violent declamations were retorted by the

commons; and even many of the moſt illuſtrious of their own body approved of the meaſure, either being convinced by argument, or choſing through prudence, to unite with the ſtrongeſt.

Party rage roſe upon this occaſion to the higheſt pitch, and all compromiſe was ſpurned on both ſides. At length the nobles deſpairing of reſiſtance at home, took a fatal reſolution, to which moſt of the evils which have ſince happened may be traced. They determined to emigrate.

How much is it to be regretted that ſome wiſe modern could not prevent this tearing aſunder of the body politic! Was there no Menenius Agrippa to convince the nobles, that to ſeparate itſelf from the commons, was like a ſtomach quitting its place in the body, where alone it can have life or ſuſtenance?

nance? Or is a ſtomach more irraſcible than the members of the body, and abſolutely implacable.

Did not the nobles know, that both their eſtates and their importance lay in France, and that an Engliſh or German peaſant was more conſidered in their reſpective countries than an indigent French peer?

What was their deſign? To unite in a body on the frontiers, to ſtir up the Germans and all foreign powers to act againſt France, and by raiſing a foreign and civil war againſt their native country, regain by force their ancient privileges.

Was this a virtuous conduct? Certainly not. But if their ſituation is fully conſidered, ſome excuſe will preſent itſelf. Let it be conſidered how much they muſt have been

been enraged to be ſtript of part of their property, and to be deprived of their titles and rank in life by perſons whom from their birth they deſpiſed, and whom they would have ſcorned to have admitted to their tables. And there is likewiſe no doubt, that their intereſt and their paſſions had ſo faſcinated their underſtandings, that they imagined no tolerable conſtitution could be eſtabliſhed, which did not reſtore to them their former rights. But words cannot deſcribe the rage that ſeized the commons on perceiving ſuch a deſign. That their countrymen, not content with poſſeſſing almoſt all the land and money in the country, ſhould determine, rather than give up a few oppreſſive emoluments and privileges, to deluge France with blood, ſeemed to them the height of depravity. Thus it is that actors are blinded with prejudices and paſſions, and enemies always form unjuſt opinions of each

each other. Hiſtory inſtructs us that oppoſite factions have ſeldom ſcrupled to employ foreign force to gain their points, even when theſe factions were headed by leaders more virtuous than the generality of mankind are.

But neither party made allowances for the other. The emigrés publiſhed the moſt violent intentions, and the national aſſembly paſſed more violent decrees. All the property of the emigrés was confiſcated, they were baniſhed for ever, and ſhould they venture to return, they were condemned to ſuffer death.

But it was ſoon diſcovered, that ſome of thoſe nobles who remained were equally hoſtile, and more dangerous than thoſe who had fled. General ſuſpicion was excited, and

and the baſeneſs of ſome, diſcredited the remainder.

The perfidy of Bouillé and ſome others did irreparable miſchief, both to the king and to the whole remaining nobles. For it was then found that oaths were no proofs of attachment to the conſtitution; and that nobles of the faireſt character could hypocritically pretend to poſſeſs patriotiſm and a love of liberty; and conceal in their hearts the moſt hoſtile and treacherous deſigns. All confidence was then loſt, and an univerſal diſtruſt towards the nobility prevailed. Thoſe ſuſpicions were in moſt inſtances unjuſt. It is certain that no *ſans culotte* was a more real friend to liberty, and to the firſt revolution, than the excellent repreſentatives of the families of Monmorency, Rochefoucauld, Narbonne and other

other ſplendid names. Theſe real patriots are indebted, for the ſuſpicions under which they laboured, to the perfidy of ſome of their own order who remained, and to the abſurd conduct of thoſe who fled; for Monſieur D'Artois and the emigrated nobles propagated throughout Europe, that the country was full of ſecret enemies to the revolution, who only waited a favourable moment to declare themſelves. The various ſovereigns of Europe credited this; and, unhappily, it was likewiſe credited in France. Theſe ſecret enemies were ſuppoſed to be the nobles, and hence that averſion to this whole body of men. The innocent have been involved in the puniſhment of the guilty. *Cui bono* was the ſevere queſtion of the rigid Caſſius and whoever was benefited by a crime, was ſuſpected by this judge as having perpetrated it. *Cui malo* is certainly as equable an interrogatory; and whoever was

injured by the revolution was ſuſpected of being its enemy.

During this violent ferment and in ſpite of all oppoſition, the famous conſtitution of 1790 was finiſhed. The world were in general aſtoniſhed to find how much power was granted to the king. A larger revenue was given him, than the ſovereign of this country enjoys, and his power in other reſpects was little inferior. The king appeared highly ſatisfied. He accepted and ſwore to mantain the conſtitution with ſeeming ſincerity and joy; and the nation took the oaths with the moſt extravagant tranſports.

As ſoon as the conſtitution was put in force, a tranſaction occurred, which ſhewed that the king was ſtill loved by the people, particularly by the inhabitants of Paris. A

member

member of the legiſlative aſſembly objected to the title of majeſty being given to the monarch, as it was an expreſſion employed in addreſſes to the Deity.

This remark ſtruck the aſſembly, and they inſtantly paſſed a decree to that effect. But it was no ſooner publiſhed than known to the public, the whole people murmured diſapprobation. It was conſidered as inſulting to the king, whom they ſpoke of as *un bon Roy, un honnete homme*. The aſſembly, upon reconſideration, annulled their decree, to the great contentment of the nation.

Had the king's ſatisfaction at accepting the conſtitution been unfeigned, and had he poſſeſſed wiſdom equal to his good-nature, there is ſtrong reaſon to believe that the commotions in France would now have ceaſed,

and that he might have reigned with ſplendor and happineſs under the new government.

But few men poſſeſs ſufficient greatneſs of mind not to feel a diminution of power as a degradation. The King of France unfortunately made it too evident, that he was diſſatisfied with the powers left him by the law. The whole tenor of his conduct ſhewed this; he ſecluded himſelf from the theatres and other public places, as if aſhamed to appear in his preſent humble ſtate, or as if he now hated the ſight of the people. He admitted at court, and to his confidence only ſuch prieſts as had refuſed to take the oaths to the conſtitution; and he ſelected for his miniſters, perſons who were either enemies to the new government, or ſuſpected of being ſo.

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Complaints of all theſe circumſtances were repeatedly made by the legiſlative aſſembly, and theſe complaints reſounded in every Jacobin club through the country. Evaſive and unſatisfactory replies were made by the king's miniſters; till at length the whole nation conceived, that notwithſtanding his oaths and proteſtations, the king only temporized, and was reſolved whenever an opportunity offered, to ſhake off the limitations put to his power, and either by force or policy to reſtore the ancient *regime*, and take vengeance on the leaders of the people.

The obvious, the certain conſequence of this conviction, was a diſlike to the monarch. He became more and more ſuſpected and deteſted. His powers were every day retrenched, and his prerogatives invaded,

invaded, and a republican party gradually began to ariſe.

In the mean time France was threatened by foreign powers, The emigrés were formed into an army on the frontiers. They were encouraged, armed, and fed by foreign princes; and they loudly declared that they intended ſoon to carry fire and ſword into the heart of France, to reſtore the king to his wonted power, and to make a ſtriking example of thoſe who had fomented the revolution.

In this ſituation of affairs, was it poſſible to truſt the defence of the nation to the king, againſt thoſe who called themſelves his real friends? Nothing but the moſt unequivocal proofs of his being ſatisfied with the powers allotted him, could have made

made this prudent; and it has been already ſtated that the reverſe of this was the caſe. As the lives of the members of the legiſlative aſſembly, as well as the liberties of the whole people were at ſtake, it is not ſurpriſing that they were jealous of the king, and watched his whole conduct.

Their ſuſpicions were but too well juſtified. On the night of the 20th of June, 1791, the King and Queen, the Royal Children and Monſieur attempted to eſcape, but they were all arreſted and brought back to Paris, except the king's brother, who immediately joined the emigrés, which too plainly ſhewed the intention of the king.

Some attempt was now made by the republicans, and particularly by Briſſot to depoſe him. But this attempt was oppoſed by a very great majority, and he was reſtored

ſtored with nearly the ſame prerogatives as before. To reſtore confidence to him was however moſt difficult. *In the opinion of the French*, he had broken his word; and a ſingle falſhood ſtains with ſo fixed a dye, that no chemical ſophiſtry can ever diſcharge the dark hue.

The hoſtile preparations on the borders now became exceedingly alarming, and it was every day more apparent that the emigrés, who avowed the deſign of attacking France, were ſupported by the emperor.—Remonſtrances of a ſtrong and deciſive nature were made by the French miniſtry; equivocal anſwers were returned; but no change of conduct took place. At length the legiſlative aſſembly became convinced that the emperor only poſtponed hoſtilities till a convenient opportunity

portunity ſhould offer. The French were too proud to brook this behaviour; a meſſage was ſent, demanding that the emigrés ſhould be ordered to quit the empire, or that a declaration of war muſt follow. An evaſive anſwer was returned, as uſual. And immediately the imprudent French raſhly declared war; giving the emperor an opportunity for ſaying that the war on his part was defenſive.

As it was generally believed that the king was hoſtile to the conſtitution, his miniſters, his generals, his friends, and all whom he appointed to public ſituations, were ſuſpected of being hoſtile likewiſe. The nation knew not whom to truſt; and the minds of the people were agitated with doubts and alarm in an extraordinary degree. This appeared in a very ſhocking manner in their firſt military operation. A de-

tachment, headed by General Dillon, made an irruption into Flanders. A body of Auſtrians drew up, and advanced to meet them. A regiment of French dragoons were commanded to charge, when a voice called out "*ſauve qui peut.*"* The regiment took to flight in a panick. The infantry ſeeing this, became alarmed; ſome called out "*trahiſon.*" Dillon perceiving the diſorder his troops were in, commanded a retreat, although the Auſtrians were much inferior in number.

The retreat was made with hurry and confuſion. "*Trahiſon, trahiſon,*" was called out by the ſoldiers; they became convinced that they were led out to be betrayed and ſlaughtered; and at laſt one of them ſhot their unfortunate general, and others diſcharged their pieces at him after he was dead.

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* Let thoſe ſave themſelves who are able.

This ſhocking tranſaction excites horror in every well-formed mind. Nothing can, and no one ought to attempt, to excuſe ſuch barbarity; but it was perpetrated by men hoſe wmotives may ever be ſcrutiniſed, and they ſeem evidently to have ariſen from the unparallelled ſituation in which the French at that time were. They ſuſpected that whoever the king appointed to the command of the armies, was a traitor to the conſtitution, and was ſeeking an opportunity of betraying them; and they likewiſe imagined, that whoever ſucceeded in ſuch treachery, inſtead of being puniſhed, would be crowned with rewards, and that the friends of liberty would be the victims. It was this unfortunate belief that cauſed the death of the innocent Dillon. The furious ſoldiery determined to puniſh him, whom had they known, they would have ſacrificed their lives to

ſave. It was not the gallant, faithful Dillon whom they murdered; but they deſtroyed an imaginary monſter, cruel and perfidious, who they believed would otherwiſe have eſcaped puniſhment, and would have committed a thouſand enormities.

After the bloody deed was paſt, the legiſlative aſſembly did what they could to atone for it, and to waſh off the ſtain from the nation. They recognized his innocence, and paſſed conſolatory votes, and decreed penſions to his afflicted miſtreſs and their infant children. This was but an imperfect recompenſe; but the evil was irreparable.

As the king was ſuſpected of favouring the Auſtrians and emigrés, of courſe he was ſtrictly watched by the legiſlative aſſembly. They dreaded leſt he ſhould ſucceed

ceed in eſcaping, and give ſtrength to the revolted nobility. His power was gradually annihilated; he was in fact treated as a priſoner, and nothing left him but the name of a king.

This ſituation became ſo irkſome, that it is not to be wondered at that he tried every means in his power to improve it. The beſt means would have undoubtedly been, to have yielded to the torrent, to have become ſatisfied with the conſtitution, and to have endeavoured to convince the people that he was ſo; but inſtead of this, he forever declared in the ſtrongeſt terms that he was ſatisfied, while the people conceived that his conduct afforded them grounds equally as ſtrong for believing the reverſe.

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The Duke of Brunſwick had now aſſembled on the borders of Champaine an army of Pruſſians, Auſtrians, Heſſians, and Emigrés, amounting to ninety thouſand men. He publiſhed a manifeſto, in which he avowed the deſign of marching to Paris, of taking vengeance upon thoſe who had effected the revolution, threatening, in caſe the perſon of the king was violated, to raze Paris, and to treat as rebels all who ſhould dare to oppoſe him.

This was not an ordinary declaration of war; it commanded ſubmiſſion, or threatened extermination. It ſounded like the voice of Atilla, who in the fifth century plunged into the heart of France by the ſame tract, and deluged the plains of Chalons with the blood of the vanquiſhed. But the deſcendants of the Franks were not intimidated by this King of the Huns.

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They heard his declaration with ſcorn; but the averſion to their emigrated countrymen augmented, who ſeconded with their arms ſuch execrable deſigns.

The ſuſpicions againſt the king were likewiſe encreaſed; for the enemies of France all declared themſelves the friends of the king, and that their chief deſign was to reſtore him to his wonted power. And there was ſtronger grounds for this opinion than the declaration of the Duke of Brunſwick. It began to be diſcovered that numbers of ſtrangers had lately come to Paris, and filled the palace of the Thuilleries. Theſe were known to be diſbanded officers, or diſaffected nobles, and were ſaid to be armed with poignards and piſtols. Their numbers were conſiderable, and their deſigns unknown.--- This not only alarmed the populace, but likewiſe

likewiſe the legiſlative aſſembly, who became apprehenſive of the military force in the Thuilleries. A decree was paſſed, deſiring that the king ſhould diſmiſs the Swiſs guards who attended his perſon, and that they ſhould be replaced by the ſame number of national guards. This decree was not complied with. A ſecond decree then paſſed, ordering the Swiſs to leave Paris, as their ſervices were no longer neceſſary. This likewiſe was diſobeyed. And the king ſent for another battalion of Swiſs, and collected in the palace whomever he believed to be attached to him.

Conſider for a moment the ſituation of the legiſlative aſſembly, and of the citizens of Paris at this juncture. The king poſitively reſiſts the decree of the legiſlature, and retains a conſiderable body of mercenaries who were attached to him, and who

who diſobey the legiſlature. The Thuilleries ſwarmed with men devoted to the king, and it was unknown what number of the national guards might declare for him upon any emergency. At the ſame time, Brunſwick thundered upon the borders, and the generals and governors of places owed their promotion to the king.

It would ſeem that the people of France feared, in this ſituation of affairs, that if they adhered literally to that conſtitution they ſwore to, inſtead of a conſtitutional king, they muſt ſoon have had a deſpotic maſter. In their idea, remonſtrances and decrees had failed to recall the king to (what *they* conſidered themſelves as entitled to exact) obedience; and therefore they applied to the dreadful expedient of force, from an obvious reluctance againſt holding their lives and

their liberties at the mercy of their incenſed monarch. The king has ſince ſaid, that he armed only in ſelf-defence, but the people ſaw no ſecurity againſt theſe defenſive troops acting offenſively, and attacking and overwhelming the legiſlature. The king, however, did not act unnaturally. —He knew he was ſuſpected; he knew he was in danger. He wiſhed for the happineſs of his ſubjects, but he wiſhed for more power than they thought compatible with their happineſs. His deſigns produced miſery, but his intentions were not wicked. Force was oppoſed to force, and the people prevailed.

Civil wars are always conducted with greater animoſity than others; but on this occaſion every thing conſpired to rouſe the people to the utmoſt. The paſſion for liberty, when once kindled, is perhaps the moſt ardent that can inflame a human breaſt.

breaſt. The minds of the people of Paris had caught from each other this enthuſiaſm. They thought, when they actually graſped, what they believed to be no phantom, that it was on the point of being torn from them by their perfidious king and his ſattelites, whom their heated imaginations depicted in the bloodieſt colours. They believed that that palace, once the ſeat of luxury, was now filled with armed men, ready to ruſh upon the legiſlative body, and maſſacre the friends of liberty. When men are in this frame of mind, it is more to be wiſhed than expected that they ſhould obſerve the laws humanely laid down among poliſhed nations reſpecting the treatment of the vanquiſhed. Theſe laws were brutally violated by the French mob on the 10th of Auguſt, 1792: they aſſembled that morning armed, and determined to ſearch the Thuilleries; entrance was refuſed them. The Swiſs fought with

that diſciplined valour for which they are renowned. Thouſands of the people were ſlain; but their furious intrepidity was not to be quelled. At length being rouſed with accumulated paſſions almoſt to madneſs, they cloſed with their enemies, and ſatiated themſelves with their death.

Men ſo affected are objects dreadful and ſhocking, but unfortunately moſt men are capable of being ſo affected. Even the phlegmatic Dutch, when excited by a public calamity, tore to pieces the virtuous De Witts.

The mind turns from ſuch ſcenes with diſguſt. It is the buſineſs of miniſters and princes to prevent them; which is to be done by taking care never to exaſperate the people to the ſame degree, and by acting in a manner directly the reverſe of that of the ill-adviſed King of France. When he retired

tired with the queen from the palace, had he commanded the Swiſs to open the gates, the bloody carnage would have been prevented, but all was ill-concerted, every thing which ought to have been done was left undone.

It was impoſſible for the people of France to reſtore to the crown a king, who, in their apprehenſion, had cauſed ſo many misfortunes. They might however have ſeated his ſon on the throne. But they imagined, that when the ſon grew up, he might make attempts ſimilar to thoſe of his father. And having ſuffered ſo much, which was by them all imputed to the king, they naturally inclined to change the government into that of a republic. This however, was reſerved for the deliberation of the conventional aſſembly, who were next ſummoned.

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The government now devolved upon a ſet of men of diſtinguiſhed talents, and of excellent characters; perſons who abhorred the bloody ſcenes which had been acted, and who exerted their influence and riſked their lives to compoſe the tumults, and heal the bleeding wounds of their country.--- Such men were the virtuous Roland, the eloquent Briſſot, the learned Condorcet, the undaunted Louvet. Theſe were men of humanity, diſſintereſted, and animated with the love of liberty. Their zeal was however raiſed too high by the infection of their countrymen. It is an old remark, that no man is ſuperior to the time he lives in. And even the minds of theſe philoſophic patriots had extravagant conceptions of freedom. But their very errors were reſpectable.

While the *Gironde** party were attempting to moderate the paſſions of the people, a thou-

* Briſſot's party were named the *Gironde*.

a thouſand circumſtances united to increaſe them.

La Fayette was commander in chief on the frontiers; who poſſeſſed an unblemiſhed character, but not a capacity equal to his ſituation in the preſent times.

Being enraged at the tranſactions of the 10th of Auguſt, he reſolved to lead his army to Paris, and replace the king on the throne. He forgot that he had no more right to reſtore the king, than the mob to dethrone him; that this could only be done legally by the repreſentatives of the nation, and he ought to have waited their deciſion. His judgment, not his deſigns, were blameable; and another proof of bad judgment was, thinking that he could induce the army to obey him, and act againſt the legiſlature.

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He diſcovered this laſt error juſt in time to make his eſcape. He ſought an aſylum in Germany, and was inſtantly thrown into a dungeon.

Arthur Dillon, the General next to La Fayette, intended to have acted with him. He recanted however in time, and was pardoned.

The defection of theſe two generals encreaſed the ſuſpicions of the people, who foreſeeing the danger which might arrive to them from ſimilar inſtances of treachery, became furious againſt all men of rank, and their minds were exalted to ſuch a pitch, as in no age was ever ſurpaſſed, and certainly has not been equalled, ſince the days when Europe was convulſed by religious fanaticiſm.

The

The whole people were in a ferment, and ſome leaders ſprung up at Paris, whoſe gloomy minds were capable of planning the darkeſt plots. Such were Marat and Robeſpierre. Panis, Sergent and Chabot, were inferior in talents, but not in zeal.

All thoſe appear to be perſons who were at firſt warm party men, and by deeply and continually bending their minds to the ſame ſubject became enthuſiaſts. And at length their whole ſouls being for ever engroſſed, and violently agitated with one train of ideas, their encreaſing enthuſiaſm approached to madneſs.

Marat was incorruptible. He did not diſregard money, for he loved the want of it. The luxuries, and even what are called the comforts of life had not only no charms

for him, but it was his delight to live without them; and in the height of his power he lodged in a hovel. He wiſhed for no place, becauſe he deſpiſed all perſonal advantages; he wiſhed for no patronage, for he had no friend to patronize. Neither intereſt, nor prudence ever guided his conduct. Being a fanatic, though not in religion, he acted according to what he thought right, and he ſpoke and wrote always from conviction. But his actions and his ſpeeches were ſo inhuman and contrary to reaſon, that thoſe who admire them muſt be infected with a ſimilar infirmity.

This man and his aſſociates were at firſt deſpiſed, and the moderate Girondiſts with a majority of the convention exerted their whole addreſs to reſtore tranquillity and happineſs to France. But the efforts of the Pruſſian and Imperial ſovereigns, together

ther with thoſe of Marat and Robeſpierre, urged the nation onwards ſtill more to deſperation and fury.

Brunſwick burſt into France with his diſciplined Germans, and the deteſted Emigrés. How ignorant of the human heart muſt the framers of his fooliſh manifeſto have been! Their deſign was to terrify, but they ought to have known, that threats could only exaſperate a brave people fighting for freedom, and excite them to triple efforts. Enthuſiaſts fear nothing, they frequently with pleaſure have even met death and torture.

Succeſs, however, attended the firſt enterpriſes of the Pruſſians. Two fortreſſes, apparently from treachery, ſurrendered without reſiſtance, and there remained no

fortified town to ſtop the invaders in their march to Paris.

The cry of treaſon reſounded through the capital. Every ſuſpected man was thruſt into priſon, and many lovers of their country were ſuſpected. The voice of Marat was heard firing the people with frenzy, and urging them to deſtroy all traitors. He excited a ſmall but furious band, who employed themſelves two days in murdering the priſoners. Some were felons and forgers, but the greater number were men of worth, ſuſpected without reaſon.

Strange as it may ſeem, yet it is certain, that even the murderers were diſintereſted; they believed they were acting right, were puniſhing guilty men, and were ſaving their country.

country. They formed a kind of tribunal where each priſoner was tried; they were ſo prepoſſeſſed, that to their minds the ſlighteſt circumſtance was a convincing proof of guilt. But they acquitted a few whom they believed to be innocent, and they took money from none. Beggars as they were, and capable of obtaining the greateſt ſums, there is no inſtance of their accepting, far leſs of exacting a farthing.

Deeds of cruelty formerly ſhocked Frenchmen as much as others. But the report of the horrors of September, while it raiſed in the reſt of Europe the ſenſation which ſuch a tale ought to excite, made not the ſame impreſſion in France. It is true that by many in the convention the cruelties were ſpoken of with the moſt violent execrations; but by others it was ſaid, that however irregular the executions were in point

point of form, that in fact almoſt all the priſoners were guilty; and that their death was uſeful and even neceſſary. It appeared that the majority of the people adopted this ſhocking way of thinking; which can only be explained by the frenzy which then had ſeized, and ſtill continues to affect that nation.

It is well known that particular circumſtances ſometimes drive a whole nation, as well as an individual to inſanity. The paſſion for chivalry and cruſades excited madneſs all over Chriſtendom in the twelfth century. In the reign of Cromwell, the Engliſh were mad with religious fanaticiſm, and at the Reſtoration with loyalty. While this madneſs engroſſes the mind humanity and reaſon are extinguiſhed. A brave knight errant thought it juſt to lay waſte Paleſtine with fire and ſword. To pleaſe his miſtreſs

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he would reduce a populous city to aſhes, and burn to death men, women and children, if they worſhiped more Gods, than he did.

Roaſting Heretics was an amuſement propoſed firſt by the Italians, and ſpread all over Europe. It was common in England for the women to aſſiſt and to endeavour to encreaſe the torments of the Papiſts or Proteſtants by revilings, and throwing combuſtibles at the ſufferers.

In the reign of Charles the Second, many were beheaded or gibetted becauſe they had the folly to think a republic was preferable to a monarchy, or that a parliament ſhould ſometimes meet. A madneſs very different from this at preſent pervades France, and obſcures the intellects of the inhabitants. We have pointed out the riſe, and ſhewn the circumſtances which have aggravated it. No one can believe that the courts of Berlin

and

and Vienna had the deſign of irritating this inflamed nation, and urging them to maſſacre their beſt citizens. I am convinced that they were completely innocent of ſuch an intention. But it is obvious that their conduct had this effect. Their threats and aſſaults added to the rage of the people; and had the Duke of Brunſwick ſucceeded in defeating Dumourier, and had he approached nearer to Paris, would not the frenzy have encreaſed with the encreaſing danger? and would not the fury of the people have been then more terrible? It was the repulſe of the Pruſſians alone, which poſtponed the fate of the Royal family.

During the ſhort calm which followed, Roland and Briſſot, with the moderate and humane, ſtrove in vain to bring the murderers of September to juſtice. Louvet boldly impeached Robeſpierre, but he was befriended

befriended by the mob of Paris, whoſe paſſions have never ſubſided. They called for the death of the king, as a juſt expiation for his treachery. Every effort was made by the Gironde, and every riſk was run by thoſe who retained their ſenſes to ſave the monarch. But all was fruitleſs, after a ſtruggle of ſeveral months, the axe of the guillotine fell upon the neck of the laſt King of France. And although his innocence was apparent, yet the armies and a great majority of the people approved of his death, demonſtrating the blindneſs of prejudiced minds.

While the Pruſſians retreated to Luxembourgh, the Auſtrians were at the ſame time obliged to raiſe the ſiege of Liſle. The French elated with theſe ſucceſſes, imagined, that their countrymen animated by the genius of liberty were invincible. They erroneouſly

conceived, that an enthuſiaſm like their own pervaded the lower ranks of every country. And as nothing was too extravagant for their ardent imaginations, they had the preſumption to believe that they could give freedom to the human race. Like a torrent they overwhelmed the Low Countries, and burſt open the gates of the Scheld; Spires, Mayence and Frankfort ſubmitted to their arms; Savoy was united to the Republic of France; Piedmont was invaded; and the tricoloured-flag was triumphantly diſplayed in the Bay of Naples.

All Europe was aſtoniſhed that a nation which they believed the Pruſſians would ſubdue in a few weeks, ſhould at once become their terror. Pruſſia was diſgraced and loſt her military renown; Auſtria collected behind the Rhine her beaten and ſcattered forces, and with wounded pride humbly

humbly ſued for a ſuſpenſion of arms, which was haughtily refuſed. The hundred eccleſiaſtical and military ſovereigns of Germany coaleſced their jarring intereſts and grew pale at the ſound of liberty. The Sovereign Pontiff ſilently relinquiſhed all authority over the rebellious ſubjects of the eldeſt ſon of the church; the keys, a ſymbol of ſpiritual juriſdiction, dropped from his hands, and the tiara, the emblem of temporal power, tottered on his head. Holland reluctantly awoke from her lethargy, and began to conſider whether an inundation could ſave her. And England doubted if the ſea was a ſufficient barrier againſt the arms of the conquering republicans.

No wonder that ſuch ſplendid ſucceſſes exalted the volatile heads of Frenchmen, naturally vain and preſumptuous. They

now unwiſely began to think of retaining the conquered provinces, and they enraged all Europe by inſulting decrees againſt their governments.

Great Britain armed, recalled her ambaſſador, and diſplayed various ſigns of diſpleaſure. The French felt a greater affection for Engliſhmen than for any other people in Europe. They had been their maſters in the ſcience of liberty, and from paſt experience, an awful idea was entertained of the ſtrength of this country. On theſe accounts the people of France were deſirous of remaining on a friendly footing with the Britiſh. This was particularly the caſe with the *Gironde*, who ſtill poſſeſſed the executive power, and who knew that nothing but peace could compoſe the agitated minds of the people.

A miniſ-

A miniſter was accordingly ſent here with powers to treat, and to endeavour to accommodate the differences with France and this country and our ally the Dutch. But all acknowledgement of their miniſter was ſpurned at. This was not certainly a very conciliating manner of commencing a treaty. But ſo deſirous were they of not breaking with England, that they paſſed over this indignity; and permitted their miniſter, although unacknowledged, to make offers of peace, and our miniſters anſwered thoſe offers, without admitting that he was entitled to make them.

They made an explanation of that decree which we complained of, contrary to its obvious meaning, ſubmitting to the diſgrace of contradicting themſelves; but even this did not ſatisfy us.

We ſent a ſquadron to ſhut up the Scheld; ſtill they ſubmitted, and not the

the ſhadow of a difference now remained.

A new miniſter was diſpatched from Paris, with freſh inſtructions to conclude a pacification. But we ſcorned to liſten to his propoſals. The new miniſter, the old, and all their *ſuite* were ordered, without being heard, to quit the kingdom inſtantly.

The conventional aſſembly were indignant at this freſh inſult, and enraged that their ſubmiſſions had no other effect than to provoke new affronts. They ſaw clearly that a declaration of war was only delayed till our levies ſhould be completed, and our fleets ready to act. Therefore, without further delay, they publiſhed a declaration of war againſt England and Holland.

It was not long before Ruſſia, Spain, and Portugal joined in this alliance againſt France; the greateſt which was ever witneſſed in Europe.

In a free country like Great Britain, no war can or ought to be carried on, except the parliament and the people are ſatisfied with its neceſſity. This is admitted by the miniſter; who withdrew from a war with Ruſſia three years ago, becauſe the people he underſtood were diſpleaſed with it.

On the preſent occaſion he has ſtated, that the war is to be continued till we have *indemnity* for the paſt, and *ſecurity* for the future.

If the miniſter keeps his word, and if the people continue him their confidence, perpetual war muſt be waged with France.

For

For he muſt be blind who does not perceive indemnity for our loſſes can never be obtained, and that ſecurity for the future never can be procured.

What ſpecies of indemnity is looked for? Do we expect to force them to give us money? Surely, no. During the peace we did draw from them their money, and it was given us ſpontaneouſly, by means of that admirable commercial treaty framed by the preſent miniſter. This employed and enriched our manufacturers, and filled the Exchequer. But we have deſtroyed the wiſeſt treaty we ever entered into, and the greateſt market we ever poſſeſſed.

Is it then by conqueſts we are to be indemnified? This is what ſome ſtill weakly imagine. But will not demonſtration and repeated experience convince Engliſhmen

liſhmen of this error. Read the "Wealth of Nations," and reflect upon what has happened; and every man who is poſſeſſed of common ſenſe will be convinced that an increaſe of our colonies would be an evil, and not a good. It would drain us of a capital to cultivate the Weſt India iſlands, inſtead of being employed at home to improve this. It would drain us of men; who would emigrate to ſeek their fortunes in the torrid zone; moſt of whom muſt ſoon periſh in that ſultry climate. And the loſs of men is a loſs both of wealth and of ſtrength. Does the poſſeſſion of South America enrich the Spaniards, or did the loſs of North America impoveriſh Great Britain?

Let no man conceive that the acquiſition of St. Domingo, Guadaloupe, Pondicherry, even if conquered, will be of the

ſmalleſt advantage to us. So far from it, that I doubt whether we ſhall loſe as many men and as much money by two unſucceſsful campaigns, as theſe colonies would drain from us in a few years poſſeſſion.

And could we add the Spaniſh colonies to the French, and if we held them all, many fertile and well inhabited counties would quickly be deſerted and lie waſte, and this glorious iſland would be enfeebled, impoveriſhed, and undone.

Indemnity is impoſſible. But to accept of colonies as a compenſation for our loſſes, is abſurd. It is endeavouring to repair the drain of men and money which exiſts during the war, by eſtabliſhing an additional drain at the peace.

But

But it is ſaid, we cannot make peace till we have *ſecurity* for its continuance. And who can have any dependence upon the words of thoſe villains who now govern France? Certainly we can have none. They have ſhewn that they pay as little regard to any engagement they form, as to any other moral duty. They are perjured; and no confidence can be placed in any treaty of peace which they might agree to. Are we then to make war with them till a king is placed on the throne? And ſhould this never be accompliſhed, is the war never to ceaſe? But if by any miraculous incident the monarchy of France ſhould be reſtored, can we place confidence in the words of a king? Shall we then have a ſecurity for the continuance of peace? We ſurely cannot have ſo ſoon forgotten that the laſt king of France, contrary to his word, repeatedly pledged, aſſiſted our rebellious

rebellious colonies, and drew in the King of Spain and Hyder Ally to break their words, and attack us by land and ſea during our diſtreſs. And do we not at preſent witneſs an empreſs and a king invading a feeble country, and dividing between them thoſe dominions, the integrity of which, a few years ago, they ſolemnly guaranteed?

Does not hiſtory ſhew us, that princes were always far above paying the ſlighteſt regard to treaties whenever they imagined it was their intereſt to break them? Such infractions, ſuch perjuries, were coloured, by ſaying they were done for reaſons of ſtate. Lewis the XIVth ſeemed even to deſpiſe this gloſs, and openly engraved upon his cannon, * *ultima ratio regum*. And ndeed this

* The laſt argument ofkings.

this great monarch broke his faith ſo frequently, and attacked his neighbours in the middle of peace with ſo little ceremony, that had he not engraved it on his cannon, it was evidently engraved on his heart, that force was not only the laſt, but the only argument fit for kings to uſe.

Faithleſs and worthleſs as the preſent French miniſters are, their words are not worſe than thoſe we have been accuſtomed to take. We cannot, nor never could, depend upon any treaty of peace. The only ſecurity it is poſſible to have for the continuation of peace, is to make it the intereſt of France to be at peace with us, and to render ourſelves as powerful and formidable as poſſible.

If we ſuffer our merchants, manufacturers and huſbandmen to exert their beneficial

ficial induſtry; if we diminiſh, by wiſe regulations, and by leſſening our expenditure, the load of national debt; if we keep up a formidable navy and a proper force by land; if we never interfere with the internal regulations of other ſtates, but gradually improve our own; we ſhall then have the ſtrongeſt ſecurity it is poſſible in the nature of things to have for a continuance of peace; as all nations muſt be benefitted by our friendſhip, and muſt ſuffer by our enmity.

A diſtinguiſhed peer in the laſt ſeſſion of parliament ſtated another reaſon for the war, which I underſtand has made a ſtrong impreſſion upon the public mind. He ſaid that the war was abſolutely neceſſary, to curb and diminiſh the power of France, which had riſen to ſo exorbitant a height

ſince

ſince the revolution, as threatened the independence of Europe.

This noble lord appears to have been totally ignorant of what has occaſioned this ſudden increaſe of power in that country. The cauſes are chiefly two. The firſt is the enthuſiaſm with which Frenchmen are at preſent poſſeſſed. And enthuſiaſm either for religion or liberty, has been often encreaſed, but was never ſuppreſſed by perſecution. The hiſtory of the whole world has ſhewn the impoſſibility of overcoming religious zeal by force; and that of the few countries who enjoy even the appearance of freedom has ſhewn, the invincible ſtubbornneſs of thoſe who are poſſeſſed by the ſpirit of liberty.

This remark has been illuſtrated in our own times by the conduct of the Americans;

cans; who bravely reſiſted for five years the ſtrongeſt efforts of Great-Britain to reduce them to dependence. Our miniſtry at laſt found out, that their zeal for liberty was augmented by the contention, as the paſſion of a lover is encreaſed by oppoſing his deſires.

The ſecond cauſe of the extraordinary power of the French is leſs obvious: When firſt heard it may ſound like a paradox, but when fully attended to, I am perſuaded, it will be found juſt. The cauſe to which I allude is, the number of nations which are leagued againſt that country. That this is the principal ſource of the encreaſed power of the French will be made evident by conſidering, what it is that enables them to bring ſuch immenſe numbers into the field.

In

In every rich and poliſhed nation a certain portion of the inhabitants poſſeſs lands or money and do nothing. The remainder are employed in a thouſand arts, manufactures, and profeſſions. Agriculture is one that is abſolutely neceſſary, and is never neglected, as by it food is raiſed for the maintenance of the whole. But the other employments, in which by far the greater number of the people are occupied, are of leſs importance, becauſe they are deſigned to form the conveniences and luxuries of life. When a country is in a proſperous ſtate the people in general are enabled by theſe occupations to procure an eaſy ſubſiſtence, and very few chooſe to become ſoldiers: becauſe when they do, they loſe many of the comforts and conveniences they before enjoyed, and they are deprived of the means of ſubſiſting their families. Beſides theſe deprivations, they are ſubjected

to ſtrict diſcipline, and ſharp puniſhments, and frequently expoſed to fatigue, wounds and death.

Such being the hard condition of a ſoldier's life, few enter into it voluntarily, except they are reduced to the utmoſt poverty. In proportion therefore as a country flouriſhes by trade and manufactures, ſoldiers will be procured with difficulty, and conſequently that country will be weaker. The State, it is true, may be rich, and ſoldiers may be purchaſed elſewhere; but this is always a dangerous expedient, for mercenaries are never to be depended upon. They have no attachment, and upon ſome emergency may deſert the party who hired them, or perhaps may even be bribed to act againſt it.

In the two laſt wars this country experienced great difficulty in raiſing troops. They were procured at a very great expence, and chiefly from Scotland and Ireland whoſe inhabitants are pooreſt. This induced government to have recourſe to Germany, where ſoldiers were procured at a cheaper rate, although a conſiderable premium was given to thoſe princes who traffic in their ſubjects.

As France a few years ago began to rival Great-Britain in commerce and manufactures, a proportional difficulty of recruiting began to be felt there. But the multitude of enemies at preſent has at once deprived the French of their greateſt markets, and of the power of exporting their commodities. Almoſt all private buſineſs has ceaſed, and the people are at once reduced to poverty. There are therefore a vaſt

multitude of men who are obliged to relinquiſh their employments, and who are glad to take up arms to procure food and clothing from the State. Conſider the number of ſervants who from oſtentation and luxury were formerly maintained in France. The rich maſters have emigrated, and the moderate fortunes of thoſe who remain, induce them to be contented with a more ſlender retinue. Reflect upon the multitudes who were employed in fabricating ſilks, velvets, mirrors, ſnuff-boxes, and an infinit of trinkets. Who is now to buy them? or how are they to be exported? Thoſe who were once quiet induſtrious workmen are now animated and determined ſoldiers. Even the hair-dreſſers in France were ſo numerous, that by neglecting that part of dreſs, a ſufficient number of recruits muſt have been drawn from that trifling and uſeleſs buſineſs,

to

to form ſeveral regiments: who, inſtead of ſcenting and curling the fantaſtic heads of *petits-maitres*, now ſcatter diſmay and death among the ranks of the Auſtrians.

It may be remembered that when the Germans alone were engaged with France, the match appeared more equal; for the armies of the latter were then far leſs numerous than they have ſince been. It was the Germans alone that reconquered the Low Countries, and repulſed the French into their own territories. The Engliſh and Hanoverians had no part of the glory, but united with Prince Cobourg after the buſineſs was done. Before this latter event, and before the grand alliance, the manufactures and commerce of France were untouched. Their imports and exports were immenſe, and although the war was going on,

on, the maſs of the inhabitants were ſtill employed in the arts of peace. But thoſe arts were totally put a ſtop to by the combination of ſo many enemies. Swarms of men were inſtantly driven out of employment who ruſhed to arms. It was not ſo much the convention as the Engliſh and Spaniards who drove ſo many French from the loom to the field. And it is evident that if thoſe powers who ſtill have the wiſdom to continue neutral, ſhould likewiſe join in the alliance, if the Danes were added to the Swedes, and the Swedes to the Americans, and all united in one abſurd cruſade againſt France, it would only have the effect of deſtroying the remaining trade of that country, multiplying the number of its forces, and of ſtill further amplifying its power.

Can any thing be more prepoſterous than to attempt to weaken France, by blocking up

up her ports, ſtopping her exports and imports, and ruining her manufactures? It is demonſtrable that every thing of this kind augments her ſtrength, renders her poorer, and the poorer the ſtronger. Is it not clear that the fewer commodities the people are able to purchaſe, the fewer perſons will be employed in fabricating them? Suppoſe, for an inſtant, that this plan was carried to the utmoſt extent.

France, before the revolution, contained twelve millions of males; of which four millions were either too young or too old to carry arms. Let us give an ample allowance, and admit that half a million have emigrated, and have periſhed by the ſword, two millions are much more than are neceſſary for the purpoſes of agriculture, and half a million for thoſe of fabricating arms, ammunition and clothing. There will then remain,

remain, if none are occupied in the arts of peace, at leaſt five millions of ſoldiers. And are not thoſe enough to overwhelm Europe?

How unwiſely then do the allied powers act in impoveriſhing France? If this was completely effected the inhabitants would all become ſoldiers, like a hord of Tartars. But they would not reſemble Tartars in their ſtupidity, in their ignorance or ſuperſtition. They would be Tartars inflamed with zeal, well verſed in politics, and ſkilled to the higheſt degree, both in the theory and practice of the art of war. And can the mind form an idea of a people more powerful and terrible than they would then be?

France ſurely cannot be weakened by plans which tend to produce ſuch effects.

This

This is only to be done by adopting meaſures of a direct contrary tendency. She is not to be weakened by forcing the whole inhabitants to leave their peaceful trades, and fly to the field of battle, but by tempting them to lay down their arms and reſume their former employments. Let them again become merchants and manufacturers, they will then acquire riches, they will then become luxurious, and ſo weak, that inſtead of being the terror of all Europe, as they are at preſent, they will no more than formerly be able to cope with Great Britain ſingly.

It is ſtrange that princes, and even miniſters of great capacities, are ſo blinded as to adopt meaſures which muſt produce effects diametrically oppoſite to their deſigns. This is owing to the prejudices which they imbibe, and ſtrengthen by

living only with perſons of rank, and to their ſcorning to conſult men of retirement and ſtudy, who are capable of adviſing them.

There is ſtill another reaſon frequently given for the war, which has much more effect than any of the former upon many benevolent minds. It is named a war of humanity, a war to puniſh a ſet of horrid wretches who commit every ſpecies of villainy, and who are a diſgrace to the human ſpecies.

This language is eſpecially uſed by women, whoſe ſenſibility has been ſo much ſhocked with the cruelties that have been committed, that they will liſten to nothing, but vengeance.

Let

Let thoſe, however, whoſe heads are cool, conſider this point; let them mark with attention what has happened, and after reflecting upon the paſt, weigh in their minds whether the cauſe of humanity is likely to be benefited by the continuation of the ſame plan in future.

Early laſt ſpring, the French after an unſucceſsful attempt upon Holland, were defeated. They immediately evacuated the Low Countries, and retired into their own territories.

An army of Auſtrians, Heſſians, Hanoverians, Dutch, and Britiſh, to the amount of near one hundred and fifty thouſand men, penetrated into France by the Scheld. Upwards of eighty thouſand Pruſſians, Auſtrians, and Saxons, advanced upon the Rhine.

Near twenty thouſand Sardinians attacked by Savoy, and as great a number of Spaniards deſcended the Pyrennées.

An expedition was formed againſt their Weſt India poſſeſſions. And the ſea was ſwept by the fleets of Great Britain, Spain, Holland, and Portugal, to ruin the trade of the French, to block up their ports, and diſtreſs them by famine.

We flattered ourſelves that ſuch mighty armaments againſt one nation could not fail of ſoon reducing them to ſubjection, eſpecially as that nation was not united at home. A hundred thouſand royaliſts ſtood in arms in Britanny, and were victorious in ſeveral encounters. Dumourier, like Fayette, attempted to lead his army to Paris and reſtore the king. Wimpſen ſoon after

after induced the army in Normandy to revolt for the ſame purpoſe. The city of Lyons took up arms, and declared againſt the convention; and in the courſe of the operations, Toulon, with a fleet of between twenty and thirty ſhips of war, was betrayed to the allies.

It is impoſſible, without the moſt abſurd prejudice, not to admire the magnanimity of a people who ſtood undaunted, in ſuch circumſtances, the ſhock of this combination. No ſymptom of fear ever was obſerved in the convention; no ſhrinking from danger ever was perceived among the troops. The preſſure of ſurrounding enemies upon France, like that of ſurrounding ſubſtances upon elaſtic vapour, increaſed proportionably the reſiſtance, and wherever the preſſure relaxed, or wherever there

there was a weak part, the recoil and explosion were tremendous and destructive.

The cold insensibility of politicians made them incapable of calculating the force of that ardour which flamed in the breasts of Frenchmen. So far from submitting, their enthusiasm is ten-fold increased, and their strength is augmented in a similar proportion.

Filled with the love of their country, the love of liberty, and the most determined spirit of independance, they collect, they resist, they repel their astonished enemies. But this glorious conduct, and these noble sentiments, are accompanied with others of the most horrid nature. Sentences of confiscation, imprisonment, and death

death, are paſſed on the ſlighteſt grounds upon the beſt men in the country. And they ſeem to have reached the higheſt pinnacle of depravity in the hideous charges brought againſt their queen, whoſe head they have had the barbarity to ſtrike off, without having even the ſlighteſt proofs of her guilt.

Their rage is not ſatiated with the blood of their ſovereigns, or of thoſe who were enemies to the revolution; but they glut themſelves even with that of thoſe who were its promoters. They ſuſpect upon the ſlighteſt grounds, and whoever they ſuſpect—dies.

The treachery of Dumourier and Wimpfen, cauſed the death of Cuſtine and Houchard. And the patriotic

Briſſot,

Briſſot, and his noble minded aſſociates, who bravely devoted themſelves to ſave their king from an unjuſt death, and their country from the deſpotiſm of a mob, were ſuſpected for their moderation, and inhumanly murdered.

Victims of leſs eminence fall in numbers daily; and the world are aſtoniſhed that theſe hideous proceedings excite no emotion in France, and that the nation appear convinced that thoſe executed were traitors, and deſerved to die. This ſhocking opinion is ſolely owing to the frantic ſtate of the people's minds. They have been threatened with ſlavery, with famine, and the ſword. They hear daily of the dangers, the wounds, or deaths of friends, brothers, ſons, and huſbands, who, with prodigality, expoſe and ſacrifice their lives to beat

beat back their invading enemies. Every effort is exerted, and their whole ſouls are wound up to the higheſt key. This elevation of thought, this agitation of ſpirits, form a ſtate of mind that is tremenduous. Paſſion alone is their guide, and reaſon cannot be attended to; they are incapable of inveſtigating evidences, or weighing proofs; and the ſuſpicion of madmen is deadly.

This is ſaid to be a war of humanity; but is the cauſe of humanity promoted by driving a whole nation through deſpair to the utmoſt exceſſes of fury?

There are five millions of fighting men in France. The whole world united will ſtrive in vain to ſubdue thoſe men armed with ſwords and with frenzy. Deluges of blood may be ſpilt, but ſubmiſſion will

never be obtained; they will only be rendered more cruel and atrocious. And is it for the ſake of humanity that the French are changed from the mild people which they once were, to horrid butchers—the murderers of women.

From what has already happened in France, it is eaſy to foreſee what muſt happen by a continuation of this curſed war, eſpecially if it becomes at all ſucceſsful on our part.

The ſmall remaining ſparks of reaſon and humanity which exiſt in the breaſts of Frenchmen will be totally extinguiſhed. It may be expected that all regard to humanity or the laws of war will be put an end to. They may paſs a decree that quarter is to be given to no enemy; and may

may perhaps murder in cold blood thoſe priſoners which are now in their hands. All retaliation in their fury they will deſpiſe, or, perhaps, rejoice at, as an additional means of rendering their troops more determined and unyielding. They have now in their hands upwards of fifty thouſand priſoners; and, at the loweſt calculation, there are not leſs than twelve thouſand Britiſh ſoldiers and ſeamen. Beſides theſe, there are a conſiderable number of gentlemen, bankers, merchants, and others, who were in France at the commencement of the war, and have been ſince arreſted, and are now at their mercy.

It is poſſible that the furious convention will not be ſatisfied with ſimply murdering them. The torture may be brought back. Every horror which the imagination of

of man can invent is to be expected from enraged and desperate madmen. Asdrubal's wife, when driven to despair, cut her children's throats, and threw them and herself into the fire. Frenchmen may be driven equally furious; but their country, like Carthage, cannot be destroyed. For it is more probable that a French army will reach Amsterdam, Vienna, or even London, than that the combined armies will ever arrive at Paris.

O! men of England! open your eyes, and judge whether the measures at present adopted are not more calculated to exasperate than to remedy the disordered state of France. By pointing out the causes, I have at the same time shewn you the cure, and a cure that is infallible, because it consists

ſiſts in removing the cauſe of the diſtemper.

Let Great Britain and her allies propoſe a pacification with France, and let not the triffling conſideration of a paltry iſland be a bar to concord. When your armies and fleets have retired, and when plenty has flowed into the ports of France, Frenchmen will at the ſame time lay down their arms. Their paſſions will gradually ſubdue, and their tranſports will be compoſed by the opiate of peace. Reaſon with humanity will by degrees regain poſſeſſion of their minds, and happineſs will again diffuſe itſelf through Europe.

Give peace to France, and you will put a ſtop to murder---you will ſave the royal children; you will convert furious monſters

ſters to rational and benevolent human beings; you will be happy yourſelves, becauſe you will permit your neighbours to be happy likewiſe.

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